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Divisions of Time

192 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (*wira*). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

Nebraska

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Húndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'ek' iru'x^{i}, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai^{a} da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'tcera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Widâ'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pca'mai^{a}na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu^{a}-wai^{a}jukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Tcaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tca'howakcu', when the deer shed their horns.

Wisconsin—

1. Hu'ndjwi teonina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai^{a}da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai^{a}ɲa! 'u^{a}ɲa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'tcerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu^{a} waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Tco'mai^{a}na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Tcaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Tcahe'yakcu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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CHAPTER V

BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, b).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 644] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(FIRST VERSION)

764 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan
● 184 dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak
614 to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with
[615] him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

[775 539] You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 764 184 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son." 764 184 614 539 775

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 765 184 614

Address to the spirit.[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road. 539 775

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is *wanp'ixi*, spirit, deity, not *waxyikik'*, ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 184 614 775 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunderbirds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[1]

764 184 614 [763] Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[1] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lamare and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 15, no. 2, 1913.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clansmen walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep, and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her, as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as [431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as nemoxirixixini) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the [775] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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765 184 614 539 [775]

tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 765 184 614

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
● 184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND[1]

539 Ho! Ha! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fires might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives longed for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

[1] Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the setting sun. On your way stands the lodge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. These who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wacke'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same." 539 775 765

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences. 765 184 614

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over. [431] [524]

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in 768

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 Told by a member of the clan.* If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

614 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who
539 are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha°ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Had Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a place of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

ItRadin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°nkirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau, who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk, Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids. When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick, from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and immediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winnebago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thousand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

WINNEBAGO BERDACHE

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.